1: Petrullo B-8 : (1932-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro S519

193 **Yaruros call Puana' "sia"** (father)

Yaruros call Kuma "aj" (mother)

Kuma calls Yaruros "kaią hao"
my son (but Yaruro says to Yaruro uni')

Puana' says "kaią hao"
my son

kanmdani hambo' "kaja uni"
Poor fellows dying out there (Kuma speaking)

manna' diroką' hambo' pioji
this is my earth (Kuma speaking)

ngua'kedodeh huraria' pain une'ha'
I have food for my children (Kuma says this to shaman)

habe' diro'da' manna'hinidiro'da'·h tcade'hinidiro'da' unihidiro
My children are living in the earth, came be born in my land young again
(Kuma speaking)

hoedi' oteh
Smoke, chief! (expression when offering tobacco smoke to Itcisl. Done all the time when smoking. To Puana' also.)

tcadenane' oteh

tcadeni'
give us good life

hoedi oteh kie'tarawo'· oteh
take dunpa cigaro
to Puana (tumbi tobacco sometimes added)

hoedi oteh paua'pigui' kie'tarakaią aj' kuma
addressing

hoedi' oteh paria' peine' kieterawo tcadediane jadu'
(to Hatchawa)—good luck, etc., good like jambu's now

minne' kaią aii
my older brother

kaią agni
younger brother

anyi ko'bwi'
Hatchawa calls all Yaruros (brothers and sisters)

PARTS OF THE BODY

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Abdomen	ak	Foot	taho-h
Arm	itcihu'h	Hair	kõ'
Breast	maito'h	Hand	itci·h
Chin	ghodi·h	Head	to-be'·h
Ear	tama·h	Knee	utautu'·h
Elbow	ma-tiy'i	Leg	tahu'·h
Eye	mdatco'h	Lip	teabi'·h
Face	tamna·h	Nose	mbu'·h
Finger	itcida'h	Palm	itcima'·h

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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NUMBERS

1	keriame'h
2	nywari'h
3	tarari'h
4	hadotcomi'h
5	keinetcibo'
6	keinetcinikeriame'h
7	keinetcininywari'h
8	keinetcinitarari'h
9	keinetcinihadotcomi'h
10	itcisune'h
11	taropeh keriame'h
12	taropeh nywari'h
13	taropeh tarari'h
14	taropeh hadotcomi'h
15	keinetaitahotcunei'h
16	keinetaitahokeriame'h
17	keinetaitahonydrari'h
18	keinetaitaho tarari'h
19	keinetaitaho hadotcomi'h
20	tarsone'h
Many	ina'

To count: Start with thumb of left hand, continue with right hand, left foot, and right foot.

POINTS OF THE COMPASS

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North	marupano'h	South	teura'pano'h
East	jaboropano'-h	West	tciaru'pano'-h
Earth	dabu'h	Morning star	mbusa'
Moon	gupene'-h	Sun	do-h
Water	u|'-	Brook	bea-h|'
River	bea'-h	Fire	konde'

VOCABULARY

Arrow	tcito'	Knife	konumia'h
Ax	hiba'	Large	teara'
Babu	arii'h	Long, tall	nqua' to'
Barbaco	para'	Macanilla	bai'
Boy (small)	pume'h (tokw|)	Make	tsuapa'
Bow	tibato', tcibato'	Maize	yukata'
Cayman	nyiakanka'	Man (old)	ote' mai'
Canoe	ja'ra'	Machete	hapene'
Cattle	faka	Night	ine ri'h
Changuango	ipe'i'h	Paddle	taento'
Cold	tcito'i'h	Pig	obuya'
Cut	todeha'	Pole (thin)	to/o hukwa'
Dark	baghune'	Quick	hanape'
Deer	mbu'a	Rainy season	u| ro'
Dog	areri'h	Rattle	tai'
Dream	kanehoi'h	Shadow	teaivi'
Drink	hara'	Shelter, house	ho'/h
Eat	hura'	Small, little	tokw|
Galapago	tcin dame'h	Summer (dry season)	hanno'
Girl (small)	ie| tohw|'	Sun	do'
Good, pretty	tsaimu|'	Terracai	pudame'h
Good girl	tei tsaimui teara' tsaimui'	Tobacco	mambi'/h
		Turtle (large)	ikwii
Hammock	buri'	Thick	anna'
Horse	jai'	Thin	hubua'

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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Today	jamba′	Water (cold)	uį′ tcutcia′
When	kanemo′	Water	uį′
Wild, shy	naitca′	Yucca	pae′h
Woman	ieį′	Yucca (swept) (edible yucca).	huruara′ pa′eh
Woman (old)	ieį′ tehi′	Yucca (bitter)	pa′eh kara
Warm water	uį′ kewita′		

ORIGIN LEGEND

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Joro′ (irokwi—give one)	Kuma-unijoro′	maę	joro′	kodeh	tcune′ih	joro′		
give	kuma boy give	speech	give	I	all	give		
hųi′hą	nimbø′ote′bureh	maę′	a′no′neh	hinani!	jabuą			
afterwards	speak everyone (all)	language	we all	many	now			
tokwęi′mi	nomi	nyo	hudi′ka	nyo	ibi′	kuma′	hine·	
few very	before	say	afterwards	say	to us	kuma	she	
tcade′ni	ko′nøtu′h	ado′	kønøtø′h	maęjoro	kønøtø′h	mana		
good very	that we live (on this earth)	more	live (you) (I live here)	language give (words)	live (you) (here)	come		
hineh	Kuma-di′·	hatciri	uihana′ui′	mana′bedi′	ibe′	ea′aį ya′		
she	kuma with	far away	water much water	comes	us	weeping mother for (my)		
ndairø′pe	mana′	øni′	diro′	naa′	hao′	habe′ dirǫ	″tohę′	
yonder	comes	boy	born	her	son	a moment just, merely itself, born	is singing	
ta′hve′ di be′	tave· di be	ate′ bureh	mana′ dirǫ′	ote bure′h				
unknown with you (people)		among all	comes is being born (family)	all				
sade	dirǫ′ mua′henidirǫ′	ea kni′	one′	uni′	nua′h	deheini′		
are	well is rich	weeping lacks	doll	boy	are	poor		
jai	pututairą′	nua′h dirǫ	tcere′h	paria pa′·h keheni	tokur′			
horse	saddle	has	silver	making	small			
pariapa′	habe′ dirǫ	tię′ tia	kę′·tia′	tibo′hida′	jode′·h	kaią′		
making	all remains	she will give name when he is born in her land	has name	goods are kept	this	my		
høđi′	jode′·h	fa′ka	kaią′ uni	fa′ka	jai	kaia′ uni′	huraria′	
is or are	this	cattle	my boy	cattle	horses	my boy	food	
kaia′ uni′	tauą	kaia′ uni′	tcade′·h	kaia′ uni′	hina′dirǫ			
my boy	shoes	my boy	good	many				
hidake′	handi′para′	nua′me′·h′	tokwę	pariapa′	jodi′h			
waiting	for that	is rich	few	is making	this			
tcere′	tokwę	hi′na	patce′tciara	faka	tokwę′	jai	tokwę′	
silver	few			few	horse			
jambua′	tiogi	ujmbo′	manna	huraką′	knidanni	pume′n kode′		
now	here with a woman	comes	eats	feels sorry	Yaruros	we		
ote′h uni′	manna′	hąhą′	puana′h uni	n-gua ke·nuą′	fakanguą′ke			
chief boy	comes	yes		I have (woman speaking)				

TABLE II

FOODS: THEIR GEOGRAPHICAL PROVENIENCES, TECHNIQUES AND SEASONS OF PRODUCTION; THE DIVISION OF LABOR IN PRODUCTION AND FOOD PREPARATION

Symbols: S.F W.S — summer, fall, winter, spring
M.F. — male, female
Q — evaluation of the quantitative importance of the food or raw material in Yaruro subsistence and productive activity: 5 — major staple or resource; 4 — major crop, but not a staple; 3 — important food (or other) resource, but a secondary crop; 2 — minor crop (or other resource) serving as a more or less regular but seasonal delicacy; 1 — mostly a delicacy for occasional enjoyment (very secondary resource)
ych — indicates both presence, and by doubling or tripling importance of crop or resource; three *ych ych ych*'s do not necessarily mean "3 times as important as 1 *ych*", merely 'of outstanding importance".
/ — sporadically or slightly present
d-m — December to March; a — April; m-s — May-September; e-n — October to November.

Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Season of Prod. S d-m	F a	W m-s	S e-n	Division of Labor Prod. M	Prod. F	Food Prep. M	Food Prep. F	Q
CROPS PLANTED:												
tse-ka'ra (1)	yuca amarga	bitter manioc	swiddens, cuttings, dibble	*ych ych ych*	*ych ych ych*	*ych ych ych*	*ych ych ych*	*ych ych ych*	*ych*		/	5
1. p. tso-ka'ra	cachicamo	" (variety?)	as above									
2. p. a'punda''ki	cenbita (?) (blanca)	" (light)	as above									
bi'tsbiri''a												
3. p. a'pund''ki-k'a'Ra	cenbita (?) (obscura)	" (dark)	as above									
'hutari''ä-'pue	yuca dulce	sweet manioc	as above	*ych ych*	*ych ych*	*ych ych*	*ych ych*	*ych ych*	*ych*		*ych ych*	4
1. p. nguä'kwi	yema de huevo	" (variety?)	as above									
2. p. ici'kwi	pata de zamuro	" (variety?)	as above									
3. p. valenciana	valenciana	" (", introd)	as above									

(1) Phonetics: *ä*, etc. = nasalized vowel, *e* = mid central unrounded vowel, *ch* = palatal c., *y* = palatalized fricative; *R* = flapped *r*, *ñ* = palatalized nasal continuant, as in English sing, *j* = palatalized affricate, as in English Job.

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Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Season of Prod. S d-m	F a	W m-s	S o-n	Division of Labor Prod. M	Prod. F	Food M	Prep. F	Q
pw$_ɛ$	maiz	corn, maize	swiddens, hills, dibble									4
1. pume'pw$_ɛ$	maiz yaruro	Yaruro corn	as above (3 mo., 1 ear/stalk)									
2. 'hamburu"spw$_ɛ$	maiz guahibo	Guahibo corn	as above (4 mo., 2 ears/ ")									
3. p. kw$_ɛ$"kw$_ɛ$ia	maiz amarillo	yellow corn	as above (5 mo., 1 ear/stalk)									
'parav"ai	plátano, topocho, banana	plantains, bananas	swiddens, machetes to cut, on specially prepared mounds, slips	?	?				/			4
1. p. 'ai	plátano	plantain	as above (raw or cooked)									
2. p. wo'ko	topocho	plantain	as above (raw or cooked)									
3. p. o'kwi	dos millos	banana	as above (raw or cooked)									
4. p. ka'ru	?	plantain	as above (?)								?	
5. ececha'm$_ɛ$ p.	guineo (?)	plantain	as above (raw or cooked)									
6. ka'mure	cambur	banana	as above (raw)									
hu'ra	flame	yams	dry swiddens, dibble	?	?			/				2
e'de	patilla	melons, pumpkins, squashes	swiddens dibble		?				/			3
1. kw$_ɛ$"bohurariiede	"	water-melon	as above									
2. chumaiile.	"	pumpkins	as above									
3. 'yako"da	"?	bottle gourd	as above									
chuni'ä	caña	sugar cane	wet swiddens, dibble, machete	?	?					/		3
1. ch. mo'ta	caña ?	" (variety ?)	as above									
2. ch. b$_ɛ$'reb$_ɛ$rei"a	caña blanca	white cane	as above									
	caña criolla	introd var.	as above									

Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Season of Prod. S d-m	F a	W m-s	S o-n	Division of Labor Prod. M	Prod. F	Food M	Prep. F	Q
ʧɛɾɑmɛ̃ˈkwɾ	flame	yams	swiddens, dibble	✓?	✓?	✓	✓	✓✓	/		✓	2
ôaˈ̃ri	batata	sweet potato	as above	✓?		✓?	✓	✓✓	/		✓✓	2
ô	ananá	pineapple	swiddens, dibble				✓	✓			/	1
ĩa	capacho	?	swiddens, ?				✓?	✓			1	?
ʧɛˈda (=ʧɛdaˈ̃dakwɾ	ocumo (yauta)	xanthosoma	swiddens, dibble	✓?		✓	✓	✓			✓	2
(ñõˈtɨaˈ̃nâ	aji	chili pepper	doubtful if raised on Cinaruco)									
FISHES CAUGHT:												
yaguˈpe	agua dulce	?	rivers, caños, hooks, arrows	✓				✓		/	✓	2-
ɛ (='chamachiˈ̃ro)	cachama	?	rivers, hooks, arrows	✓				✓		/	✓	1
guiˈte	sardina	?	rivers, fish arrows, small hook	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		/	✓	2
dapˈwe	guavina	?	caño fishhooks	✓			✓	✓		/	✓	?
hoˈnõ	palambre	?	rivers, caños, arrows, hooks	✓?		✓	✓	✓		/	✓	2
ipːˈâ	pinte tigre	?	rivers, caños, hooks	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		/	✓	2-
puˈchowɛ́nˈ̃ri	bagre	catfish	rivers, caños, hooks	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		/	✓	2-
ˈmeõˈ̃dakwɾ	viejita	?	as above	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		/	✓	?
ˈchôãndaˈ̃ɾɨi	"	?	as above	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		/	✓	?
ninda'õ	"	?	caños, hooks, sardine bait	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		/	✓	?
aɨjiˈri-kaˈ Rã	" negra	?	caños, hooks	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		/	✓	?
uˈru-uˈru	de tierra	?	rivers, hooks	✓	✓	✓	✓			/	✓	?
daˈre	pavon	?	rivers, hooks, sardine bait	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		/	✓	?

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Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Season of Prod. S d-m	F a	W n.-s	S o-n	Division of Labor Prod. M	Prod. F	Food M	Food Prep. F	Q
chu'me	"	?	rivers, cañas, hooks, sardine bait, from platform	✓				✓		/	✓	?
'yaka'ra	"	?	as above, also arrows	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		/	✓	2?
'Yopok'e"ne	" colorado	?	rivers, cañas, hooks	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		/	✓	?
åô	caribe blanco	white piranha	rivers, arrows, hooks with especially heavy cord	✓				✓		/	✓	1
(hôde'cia	caribe	piranha	doubtful if caught on Cinaruco)									
(pu'pu	cajarro	catfish	doubtful if caught on Cinaruco)									
FRUITS, ROOTS, AND SEEDS GATHERED:												
t'o'cho	?	?	in mata from big tree, at foot	✓				✓				1?
gu're (cho'nô)	guayaba	guava	bushes and low trees, distant			✓		✓				1
t'u	fruta de moriche	miriti palm fruit	near caños in wet savana, from foot of trees			✓✓		✓			✓	2
'utam"be	?	?	?, from big tree (monte?)			✓		✓			1	?
tam'be	?	?	?, ?			✓						1
uŋ,to'ui	cardón	teasel (?)	?, from tall trees (prob monte)			✓		✓				1?
ukai'cho	escaño	?	?, ?			✓						1?
auri"to	?	?	?, ?			✓						1?
ya'kol,	totumo	calabash	monte (?), picked				✓	✓?			✓?	3
ai"p,	changuango	?	wet savanas, digging stick	✓					✓✓		✓	3
cho'kai	guapo	?	monte, savana, digging stick	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓✓		✓	2

Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Season of Prod. S d-m	F a	W m-s	S o-n	Division of Labor Prod. M	Prod. F	Food M	Prep. F	Q
ma"hikxi	soku ??	?	savana, digging stick									1
ka'ta	changuanito savanero	?	as above									2?
pa'ta	barbaco	?	monte, digging stick									3
gwe'pe (=gwepe'ke)	chigo	? (seed)	near monte, big trees, ground									2
ge (=ke)	chigo	? (seed)	?, ? (as above?)									?
ANIMAL HUSBANDRY:												
o'bweta	marrano	pigs	savanas, herding (introd.)						/			3
oka'taro	gallina	chickens	dunes near houses (")						/			1
ANIMALS HUNTED:												
(to)ha'rigu'ri(a'nâ)	oso hormiguero	giant ant eater?	savana, bow and arrow									4
ha'ri	baba	alligator	rivers, heavy barbed arrow									3
mbwa	venado	deer	savanas, lance arrow, gun									3
ci'do	chigüire	capybara	monte, river, " ", fish arrow									3-
tapu'ta	conejo	rabbit	savana, fish arrow						?			1?
puri	lapa	paca	caño, monte, traps, all arrows						?	?		1?
ya'tutu"mi	iguana	water lizard	rivers, montes, fish arrow						?	?		1?
'ge"te	cachicamo	armadillo	savanas, traps, sticks, hand								/	2-
'ipurime"ta	manto	?	savanas, traps, arrows						?	?		?

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Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Season of Prod. S d-m	F a	W m-s	S e-n	Division of Labor Prod. M	F	Food M	Prep. F	Q
'yaera"ta	picure	? (aguti?)	monte, caño, fish arrow	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		?	?	?
'ihu"ri	tortuga	tortoise	rivers, fishhooks; on Capanaparo, use detachable arrow	≠≠			≠	≠		?	?	2
poda'me	terecai	terrapin?	rivers, fishhooks " "	≠≠			≠	≠		?	?	2
goda'me	morrocoy	boxturtle	mata, by hand - doesn't run	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		?	?	1
ci'rida"me	galapago	river turtle	rivers, detachable arrow	≠≠			≠	≠≠		?	?	2
('hbi-obwei"a	chácharo	peccary	doubtful if hunted on Cinaruco)									
(be'ri	manati	manatee	doubtful if hunted on Cinaruco)									
BIRDS HUNTED:												
ha'we	coitua negro	duck species	rivers, caño, arrows	≠				≠		?	≠	1
hi'na	esretero	?	rivers, lakes, arrows	≠				≠		?	≠	1
andu'ra	garza morena	grey heron	rivers, lakes, arrows	≠				≠		?	≠	1
o'kara	garza blanca	white heron	lakes, arrows	≠				≠		?	≠	1
'huidiga'ra	garza paleta	painted heron?	lakes, arrows	≠				≠		?	≠	1
huc	gaviota (?)	?	lakes, arrows, bird arrow	≠				≠		?	≠	1
'kwinchi"ni	perdiz	partridge?	savana, bird arrow (?)	≠				≠		≠	?	1-
hu'tu-yu'ru	pavo	curassow	rivers, monte, arrows	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		≠	?	2
u'ra	jivaro (?)	jivaro stork?	lakes, arrows, shotgun	≠				≠		≠	?	2
norsha'te	pato real	duck species	lakes, arrows	≠≠				≠		?	?	?

Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Season of Prod. S d-m	F a	W m-s	S o-n	Division of Labor Prod. M	Prod. F	Food M	Prep. F	Q
pe'he	cotua	duck species	rivers, caños, arrows	✓✓✓	✓	✓	✓	✓✓		?	?	2?
pos'ná	pato	duck species	doubtful if hunted on Cinaruco)									
MISCELLANEOUS MATERIALS COLLECTED FOR USE IN PRODUCTION:												
ya'ro	espuruna	leaf to wrap and store corn sticks	savana, picking			✓ ?			✓		✓	1
karam'ba	?	cigar wrapping	savana, picking	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓ ?		✓	✓	1
ngam'bi	tabaco	tobacco	savana, picking	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	1
u'de	curagua, macanilla	macanilla palm	near caños (?) a) for bows, b) for string, fibres for objects	✓ ✓	✓ ✓	✓ ✓	✓ ✓	✓✓ ✓		✓✓ ✓✓	✓✓	2 2-
chara't'o	sulau (salado?)	canoe wood (?)	montes, for making canoes	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓✓		✓✓		4
cinõ't'o	caña brava	cane for arrows	near caños for foreshafts	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓✓		✓✓		4-
tu	moriche	moriche	near or in caños, used for making house roofs, baskets, cords, fibres, hammocks	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓✓	✓✓	✓✓✓	✓✓✓	5
ngo	moriche frond	ditto	as above, often picked up from ground, or tree cut and fronds collected, last for years, may be reused.		as above							
biri't'o-i	guasca	bark strips	montes, caños, for lashing	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓✓		✓✓		3
é-im'bu	cera de abeja	beeswax	near caños, from large trees	✓	✓			✓		✓		1
é-'ke	miel	honey	as above	✓	✓			✓				1
e'ra	peramán	tree wax	as above? for arrows	✓ ?	✓ ?			✓		✓		2

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Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Food M	Prep F
COOKED DISHES AND THE DIVISION OF LABOR — CONVERSION OF FOODSTUFFS IN VILLAGE					
chum'pe	arepa	corn cakes	kernels crushed after shelling, fried in deep fat or boiled; grater often used	/	⁄ ⁄ ⁄
ui'tu	?	corn purée	crushed corn (after frying raw kernels in deep fat or simply boiling) mixed with water; grater may be used for mashing	/	⁄ ⁄ ⁄
pwɛ-u'ni	?	corn powder	dry hard kernels grated on metal grater (men make holes with nails) and then eaten dry	/	⁄ ⁄ ⁄
iu	?	corn on cob?	boiled		⁄
po'nõ	?	corn kernels	dry, relatively hard kernels are shelled from cob, then roasted in deep fat, salted, and eaten	⁄	⁄ ⁄
cɨ'dɛ	capuruna	corn sticks	shelled kernels grated into mush, carefully wrapped in capuruna leaves, boiled; stewed or eaten directly	/	⁄ ⁄ ⁄
'pwɛ-e"ro	guarapo de maíz	corn juice	kernels are mashed to express juice, thick liquid	⁄	⁄ ⁄
umbɛ	cazabe	bitter manioc	manioc flower prepared by cutting, grating, squeezing in tipiti, etc.		⁄ ⁄ ⁄
1. um'bɛ	cazabe	manioc cakes	flour prepared in flat cakes and roasted		⁄ ⁄ ⁄
2. um'bɛ-e'ro	guarapo de cazabe	boiled m. juice	juice is boiled to break down prussic acid	/	⁄ ⁄
3. um'bɛ ?	[illegible]rato	fermented "	flour and juice added to corn juice, ferments ca. 12 hr.	⁄ ⁄	⁄
'uka"-ɨaru-"nɨ'	huevos	chicken eggs	usually fried		⁄
'hurari"ã-'pae	yuca dulce	sweet manioc			
1. ?	?	fried slices	fried in relatively shallow fat	/	⁄ ⁄
2. ?	?	deep fried	fried in deep fat		⁄ ⁄
3. ?	?	boiled	boiled whole after peeling (as above)		⁄ ⁄

Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Food M	Prep F
'parara	plátanos, topochos, bananas	plantains and bananas	many types often eaten raw; below are considered only those which are cooked		
1. ?	?	boiled	peeled and put in water to boil till soft	/	✓
2. ?	?	fried slices	peeled, sliced, put in deep fat till hard		✓✓
o'bwei	marrano	pork	most of the work of killing and preparing is done, as with most meats, by the men; only boiling is usually done by women who own pots		
1. ?	?	boiled	small chunks boiled till almost mushy	/	✓✓
2. ?	?	roasted	put on sticks over fire, facing it	✓✓	
3. ?	chicharrones	cracklings	hide with thick layer of fat fried in its own fat till fat (and hide) are hard; stored for some time	✓✓	
4. ?	?	deep fried	meat parts are deep fried till almost crisp		✓✓
5. ngwei ts"piaks"to	?	blood sausages	blood carefully caught on slaughtering and saved in vessel till coagulated then stuffed into unwashed (?) intestines and cooked	✓✓✓	
chwi"i-e'ro	guarapo de caña	cane juice	squeezed out on "chaqui-chaqui", a wooden hand press	✓	/

NB—Preparation of foods produced only in the dry summer months, such as changuango root and changuanito savanero root were not observed and are not included here. These roots are both boiled by the women. Most meats, unless boiled, are prepared by the men by roasting. Fish, in general are prepared by women. Most fruits and seeds which are not eaten directly upon collecting are cooked by women.

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2:Leeds E-5 (1958)1961 SS19 Yaruro SS19

7: Leeds E-4, 5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19
Guahibo SC14

Petrullo's own linguistic data includes the words for corn, *(pwe)*, manioc *(par)*, and other planted foods. The words for corn and manioc are certainly not word borrowings from Spanish. This tends to confirm the hypothesis of an aboriginal presence at least of these crops.

A second point is that Yaruro and Guahibo subsistence is transhumant, consisting of a wet-season gardening predominance and a dry-season hunting and/or fishing predominance. Guahibo, both presently and in various historical sources,[12] are described as being horticulturalists as well as hunters. It is of first importance to note which season is being discussed when the tribal subsistence is being described. With this sort of transhumance, one would expect the decriptions in the literature to disagree; as they do, according to the season of description. Similarly there is much local ecological variation, which appears to determine variations in the predominance of horticulture or hunting or fishing or collecting.

Third, the various tribes — Yaruro, Guahibo, Kuiva, Sáliva, Achagua, and possibly the Otomaco, as well as more distant groups - - maintained a complex ecological relationship to llanos and extra-llanos resources by means of three major institutions, trade, war, and raiding. For example Kuiva, described by my Yaruro informants and others as being "muy brabos",[13] even today raid both Guahibo and Yaruro villages, but apparently only when these are well supplied, *after* harvesting (Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1961). That is, they drain off a certain amount of the harvest surplus (cf. Leeds 1961 *a*: 23) from the horticultural groups. With this food, they are able to maintain a larger population in the hunting areas away from the rivers, which they regularly inhabit. Presumably it also compels or encourages the groups concerned to produce more as a hedge against such depredations, thus contributing to overall population maximinization. The raiding pattern may also account for the use of green corn as remarked before.

At the same time, the Guahibo raid Yaruro gardens as the corn and manioc ripen, but are limited from so doing by the frequent presence of Yaruro in their gardens during the harvest period and by the distance of the gardens from the Guahibo villages. The Guahibo were also reported as formerly having carried on extensive warfare, which, it is my guess, had a subsistence foundation (cf. Kirchhoff, 1948 *b*). The peaceable Yaruro, on the other hand, have apparently always done a considerable amount of trading up and down river in their canoes. Trade is also reflected archeologically in the stone artifacts mentioned above, since the kinds of stones used are not found in the llanos and must come from extra-llanos sources.

In short, the entire llanos area appears to me a complex ecological system involving hunting, gathering, fishing, and horticulture, with trade, raiding,

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[12] Cf. Crévaux, 1883; Marcano, 1883; Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1944; Vela, 1889; Wilbert, 1957.

[13] Cf. Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1961. He described the generally harsh behavior of the men, the raiding pattern, and the rough manhandling he received from the women.